

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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SECURITY INFORMATION

INFORMATION REPORT

REPORT

CD NO.

COUNTRY Yugoslavia/Bulgaria

DATE DISTR. 17 December 1952

SUBJECT Meeting of the Union of Bulgarian
Political Refugees in Yugoslavia

NO. OF PAGES 7

DATE OF INFO.

NO. OF ENCLS.
(LISTED BELOW)PLACE
ACQUIRED

SUPPLEMENT TO
REPORT NO.

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1. On 21-22 July 1952 a conference of Bulgarian political refugees in Yugoslavia took place at the Communal Theater in Nis. Delegates from Macedonia, Serbia, and former members of the Refugee Committee of Belgrade and Skoplje took part.
2. At the conference, Bulgarian refugees were forcefully united by the UDB into the Union of Bulgarian Political Refugees in Yugoslavia. All refugees regardless of political background are eligible to belong. The organization will be directed by a committee which was elected at this conference and consists of 35 members and a control commission of 7 members.
3. Persons elected to the direction of the committee follow:
 - a. Ivan Monov Tsvetkov, President.- Born at Macres; escaped from Bulgaria in the fall of 1949; officer in the air corps; Communist; presently an informant for the UDB at Zajecar and leader of a group of Communist agents;
 - b. Stefan Kafadarov, Vice President - Student in Belgrade;
 - c. Todor Aleksiev, Vice President - Presently at Becej; president of the sub-committee for Serbia;
 - d. Radoi Spasov, Vice President - Presently at Skoplje; president of the sub-committee for Macedonia;
 - e. Other committee members are
 - (1) Diko Tsenov Velickov, Nis;
 - (2) Giko Gilikov, Zajecar;
 - (3) Ivan Petrov Genchev, Zajecar;

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- (4) Khristo Chekov Ivanov, Prokuple;
- (5) Eftim Yanev Dimitriev, Vladiskj Han;
- (6) Todor Marinov, Pirot;
- (7) Tsolo Todorov, Zajecar;
- (8) Nikola Cholakov, Belgrade;
- (9) Dimitur Mihailov, Becej;
- (10) Dr. Stefan (possibly Stamen) Stamenov, Novi Becej;
- (11) Mato Stoyanov Koritski, in Bratstvo Edinstvo Agency, Becej;
- (12) Petur Petrov Dimitrov, Belgrade;
- (13) Petko Vankov, Belgrade;
- (14) Prokop Trukov, in Biserni Agency, Ostrovo;
- (15) Stoyu Stoev Simov, Becej;
- (16) Gergo Tsvetkov Gergov, in Bratstvo Edinstvo Agency, Becej.
Secretary of sub-committee for Serbia;
- (17) Andrei Ivanov, in Biserni Agency, Ostrovo;
- (18) Tsanko Markov Pasderski, in Bratstvo Edinstvo Agency, Becej;
- (19) Todor Stefanov Subev, Belgrade;
- (20) Petur Vulkov Velikov, in Bratstvo Edinstvo Agency, Becej;
- (21) Ignat Palshanov, Macedonia;
- (22) Mara Mazhdurechka, Macedonia;
- (23) Boris Mizkov, Macedonia;
- (24) Milka Bozhikova, Macedonia;
- (25) Ivan Kantardzhev, Macedonia;
- (26) Slavcho Stoyanov, Belgrade;
- (27) Smilen Demirevski, Macedonia;
- (28) Kiril Stoyanov, Macedonia;
- (29) Milcho Sirakov, Macedonia;
- (30) Boris Tsvetkov, Macedonia;
- (31) Asen Risov, Macedonia.

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4. The seven members of the control commission are:
 - a. Anton Kostov Petrov, Pirov;
 - b. Konstantin Georgiev, Belgrade;
 - c. Petur Lukov, Becej;
 - d. Maria Genova, Belgrade;
 - e. Vasil Antonov Ninov, Zajecar;
 - f. Tosho Ranolkov, Macedonia;
 - g. Lguben Rolev, Macedonia.
5. The executive committee is composed of:
 - a. Ivan Monov, president;
 - b. Stefan Kafadarov, vice president;
 - c. Todor Aleksiev, vice president;
 - d. Radoi Spasov, vice president;
 - e. Nikola Cholakov, secretary;
 - f. Mara Mashdurechka;
 - g. Tsanko Markov Paderski;
 - h. Milcho Sirakov;
 - i. Dr. Stamen (possibly Stefan) Stamenov;
 - j. Ivan Petrov Genchev;
 - k. Diko Tsenov Velickov.
6. The executive committee was selected from the members of the larger committee. It will put the decisions made by the committee into action.
7. The Yugoslav government recognizes that there are elements in the ranks of Bulgarian emigre circles who are fighters and it is doing its best to organize the refugees for its political purposes against Bulgaria. The government is doing its utmost to keep the refugees in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav government is giving every refugee worker and child 3,000 dinars a month, while the old and sick receive 5,000 dinars a month. The delegates to the Nis Conference were given second class rail tickets by the government, and authorization to eat and sleep gratis. A representative of the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia, Todor Velcev, and the representatives of all the national refugee groups, sent their greetings to the conference.
8. The Serbian Communist Party representative stated that the Yugoslav government is doing its best to unite Bulgarian emigres so that they can fight together against the occupiers of Bulgaria from Moscow and against their servants in Sofia headed by Vlado Chervenkov. The Yugoslav Government wants to give the Bulgarians the opportunity of developing culturally

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to help them materially. On the other hand, the representative said, the Western Governments are doing their best to keep the Bulgarians disunited. The Yugoslav government, he said, will give the Bulgarians the opportunity to free their brothers and not to become the victims of a "divide and conquer" policy and become cannon fodder.

9. The Serb representative was asked why the Yugoslav authorities had not allowed the refugees to come in contact with the president of the Bulgarian National Committee, and secretary general of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, Georgi M. Dimitrov. The Serb representative answered that contact with Dimitrov had not been allowed because he is an American agent and, if the committees were allowed this contact, they would go to the West to work for the imperialists.
10. The statutes adopted by the committee and the program for the future are such that the UDB will control the organization's actions, and will force the emigrants to work for it. The UDB will not, however, be successful in this respect since the emigrants will not work until they are united with refugees in the West.
11. Selection of candidates for the Nis Conference took place at preparatory meetings in various Yugoslav locations. Selection of delegates from the Nis region took place toward the end of June, for Belgrade on 2 July, and for Becej and its environs between 4 and 10 July. Forty delegates, members of the Bulgarian National Committee (BNC), were elected from the Bratstvo Edinstvo (Brotherhood and Unity) Agrarian Group at Stari Becej. Sixteen delegates, members of the BNC, were elected from the Biserno Ostrioivo Group at Stari Becej. Eight delegates, six of whom are BNC members, were elected from Bolosinovo. Ten delegates, eight of whom are BNC members, were elected from Pastuhovska Stariza (sic). Four delegates, three of whom are BNC members, were elected from Esero (sic). One delegate was elected for every three refugees.
12. The conference was dominated by the UDB to assure that nothing unfavorable took place concerning the Yugoslav government. Members of the UDB from Negotin, Klaciar, Nis, Knjazevac, Pirot, Dimitrovgrad, Bosiljgrad, Leskovac and Aleksinac were present. Before the meeting began, the UDB advised the delegates that they had better conform or they would end up in jail. At first the candidates were going to protest, but being interested in remaining in Yugoslavia, they followed the advice. The delegates wanted to suggest that a union be formed with refugees in the West, but the UDB had prohibited discussion of this matter. As a result, the delegates showed little interest in the meeting. On the whole, the delegates were well treated. The following persons spoke on the subjects cited: Ivan Javatkov, political terror in Bulgaria; Radoi Spasov, the economic situation; Mikola Cholakov, brotherhood and friendship among the Yugoslavs; Eftim Petrov, Soviet occupation in Bulgaria; and Mato Kuritski, the educational reform in Bulgaria.
13. Twenty-eight other delegates also spoke on the union of refugees and the improvement of the national cultural organization. No one spoke against Bulgarian organizations or leaders in the West. The statutes, program and resolution were accepted in a lump. The delegates were afraid to state their true feelings. The meeting ended quietly to the satisfaction of the Yugoslav authorities. It is obvious that the UDB can exploit the refugees to collect intelligence on Bulgaria.

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14. The following is a translation of the Organization's statutes:

"Statute of the Bulgarian Political Refugees
Organization in Yugoslavia"

Chapter I

General Principles; Name of the Organization

Art. 1. Bulgarian political refugees in Yugoslavia hereby found a political organization to be known as the Union of Bulgarian Political Refugees in Yugoslavia.

Headquarters of the Organization

Art. 2. The headquarters will be established wherever a majority of refugees are located.

Activities

Art. 3. The organization is interested in all Bulgarian political refugees in Yugoslavia.

Aim of the Organization

Art. 4. The aims of the organization are as follows:

- a. To unite all Bulgarian political refugees who have found asylum in the People's Republic of Yugoslavia without distinction of nationality, religion or political ideas, into one organization. Its aim is to act against the present regime in Bulgaria and to create a free, independent, democratic and progressive republic.
- b. To make decisions on social and economic problems affecting Bulgarian political refugees in Yugoslavia.

Chapter II

Members of the Organization, Their Aims and Rights

Art. 5. All political refugees enjoying the privilege of asylum in Yugoslavia, 16 years of age or over, and who approve the program and the statute of the organization, are eligible to join the organization.

Art. 6. Every member will carry a membership card. Application will be made in writing on special forms.

Duties of the Members

Art. 7. Each member must observe the statutes and the program of the organization and be concerned with the problems of Bulgarian political refugees in Yugoslavia.

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Art. 8. It is the duty of each member to work for the aims of the organization with sincere patriotism, firm willpower and heroism. He will fight day and night to strengthen the brotherhood of the Bulgarian people with other democratic peoples and above all with the People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Each member will work for political, ideological and professional progress.

Art. 9. Each member will pay monthly dues according to his means and as prescribed by the organization.

Members' Rights

Art. 10. Each member has the right to vote and express his opinions.

Punitive Sanctions and Loss of Members' Rights

Art. 11. A member may be criticized or expelled for not carrying out assignments. A member has the right to appeal at the annual meeting of the organization. Membership is for life or until expulsion.

Chapter III

Organizational Structure and Organs of the Organization

Art. 12. The organization is based on the principle of the freedom of assembly.

Meetings of the Organization

Art. 13. The supreme organ of the organization is the congress (riunione-conferenza, i.e., meeting-conference). The delegates to the congress will be elected every year by the members of the organization during the preliminary meetings according to the decisions of the organization's committee. The delegates will be elected secretly and democratically.

Art. 14. The congress will be held once a year, or according to need, and can be called by the executive committee or at the request of one third of the members of the organization. The congress annually will elect a committee to consist of as many members as the organization decides. A control commission will be elected to supervise financial, organizational and administrative matters. The elections may be secret or by acclamation. The conference will interpret the decisions of the organization's committee.

Art. 15. Only delegates elected at preliminary meetings will have the right to vote at normal and extraordinary meetings. Decisions made by the congress will be binding on all members and organs of the organization.

Art. 16. The congress has the right to name a commission to work on problems which may arise.

The Organization's Committee

Art. 17. The committee of the organization consists of 21 to 45 members. They will meet once every two months and more often if the need arises. The committee will elect from its ranks the executive committee which will consist

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of 7 to 11 members. It will review the activities of the organization and will make decisions for future action.

Art. 18. The committee may elect sub-committees from its members to facilitate the work of the committee in other localities.

Art. 19. The executive committee consists of the following: president, vice president (or 3 vice presidents), secretary, and five members elected from the ranks of the organization's committee.

Art. 20. The executive committee will carry out the decisions of the congress and will elaborate and amplify the orders issued by the congress. The executive committee names and exonerates political administrators, and the political, administrative, financial and educational organs of the organization. It takes disciplinary and punitive action. The members of the organization will carry out the orders of the executive committee and report to the committee of the organization at the congress. The executive committee will meet once a month and more often if necessary. The president and the secretary may represent the executive committee. The executive committee examines problems posed by the annual congress before the organization and directs the work of the organization between meetings of the committee.

Chapter IV

Finances

Art. 21. Financial sources of the organization follow:

- a. Obligatory monthly dues from members;
- b. Voluntary contributions, contributions from newspapers and other publications.

Art. 22. The financial operations of the organization are carried out by persons directly responsible to and named by the executive committee. Payments are considered valid only when a signed receipt is retained and signed by the president or secretary of the organization.

Art. 23. If the organization is disbanded, its assets will be distributed among the members according to contributions they have made.

Program of the Union of Bulgarian Political Refugees in Yugoslavia

1. To fight for the union of all the patriotic forces among the Bulgarian political refugees in Yugoslavia without distinction of religion, political ideas or nationality in the common struggle of the Bulgarian people against the traitorous and anti-national government of Vlko Cervenkov.
2. To fight against the Soviet occupiers until they are expelled from Bulgaria.
3. To fight for independence, democracy and a progressive Bulgarian republic.
4. To fight for a close alliance with all the progressive and democratic people in the world and, above all, to fight for fraternity and friendship with the people of Yugoslavia, sincere friends of the Bulgarian people."

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